

Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00692 100230Z

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0692

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR,UNSC,WAS,SF,US

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL: MEETING WITH WESTERN MEMBERS,
MARCH 9.

I BELIEVE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO
SECRETARY VANCE'S ATTENTION IN CONNECTION WITH HIS MEETINGS
WITH PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN:

1. AT INVITATION OF GERMAN PERM REP VON WECHMAR, WESTERN
REPRESENTATIVES ON SECURITY COUNCIL (US,UK,FRANCE,
CANADA, AND FRG), MET AT FRG RESIDENCE FOR LUNCH, MARCH
9.

2. VON WECHMAR DREW ATTENTION OF GROUP TO CALL PAID ON
HIM EALIER IN DAY BY NIGERIAN PERM REP HARRIMAN, WHO
IS CHAIRMAN OF UN APARTHEID COMMITTEE. HARRIMAN
TOLD VON WECHMAR THAT FOUR DRAFT RESOLUTIONS WERE TO BE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 00692 100230Z

SHOWN TO CLOSED SESSION OF APARTHEID COMMITTEE SEERING
GROUP AFTERNOON MARCH 9. ACCORDING TO VON WECHMAR,
RESOLUTIONS HAVE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS (HE DOES NOT HAVE A
COPY OF DRAFTS HIMSELF):

A) "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 1" IS CONDEMNATION OF
SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS APARTHEID REGIME, WHICH REQUESTS
SOUTH AFRICA TO END ITS USE OF FORCE, FREE POLITICAL

PRISONERS, ABOLISH SECURITY LAWS AND APARTHEID
LEGISLATION, PUNISH THE USE OF FORCE BY SOUTH
AFRICAN SECURITY, ABOLISH TORTURE, ABANDON BANTUSTAN
POLICY, AND MAKE WAY FOR MAJORITY RULE;
B) "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 2" DECLARES A STATE OF WAR
AS EXISTING BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS,
REASONING THAT THE SAG IS USING MILITARY FORCE AGAINST
THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION, IS MILITARILY OCCUPYING NAMIBIA
ILLEGALLY AND IS OPPOSING THE EXERCISE OF THE UN MANDATE
THERE. FURTHER, SOUTH AFRICA IS CONDUCTING ATTACKS AGAINST
ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA, IS NOT RESPECTING SECURITY COUNCIL AND GENERAL
ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS, IS SYSTEMATICALLY VIOLATING SANCTIONS
AGAINST RHODESIA. ALL THESE MEASURES, THE DRAFT CONTINUES, ARE
INTENDED TO MAINTAIN THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. THE DRAFT WOULD
HAVE THE SC GIVE SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL AUGUST 31 TO TERMINATE
ITS "STATE OF WAR". SHOULD SOUTH AFRICA FAIL TO DO SO,
THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD BE INVITED TO CONSIDER
"APPROPRIATE ACTION" UNDER THE CHARTER.
C) "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 3" WOULD INVITE
STATES TO INSTITUTE AN EMBARGO ON MILITARY SALES
AND MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA,
WITH STATES TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THEIR IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE RESOLUTION BY JUNE 16;
D) DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 4" RECOMMENDS THAT ALL
STATES AVOID AND PREVENT ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH
SOUTH AFRICA, IN PARTICULAR, TRADE AND INVESTMENT.

3. ACCORDING TO VON WECHMAR, HARRIMAN DESCRIBED THESE
DRAFT AS "MILD" AND HAVING THE EFFECT OF POSTPONING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 00692 100230Z

FURTHER ACTION UNDER CHAPTER VII. ACCORDINGLY HARRIMAN
CALLED FOR THEIR SUPPORT BY CONSENSUS.

4. AMBASSADOR YOUNG OBSERVED THAT NONE OF THESE TEXTS
REALLY CONTRIBUTED ANYTHING TO THE PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION
OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE NEEDED TO PERSUADE S.A. THAT THERE
WAS AN ALTERNATIVE TO WITHDRAWAL INTO A LAAGER AND A DETER-
MINATION TO FIGHT TO THE END. INSTEAD, HE ADVANCED THE IDEA
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRODUCING A "SOLEMN DECLARATION"
CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SC
OF A FIVE-MEMBER (US, UK, FRANCE, FRG, AND CANADA) "CONTACT
GROUP" TO MEET WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN AN EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT
SC RESOLUTION 385 CONCERNING NAMIBIA. AMBASSADOR YOUNG
ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA SEEMED TO BE SHOWING SOME WILLING-
NESS TO MOVE IN CERTAIN AREAS, WHICH WILLINGNESS MUST BE
EXPLOITED. AT THE SAME TIME, SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE MADE
TO SEE THAT FURTHER INTRANSIGENCE ONLY CAN LEAD TO A MORE
RADICAL CHANGE TO MAJORITY RULE.

5. AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S PRESENTATION WAS RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTICALLY AND, FOLLOWING EXCHANGES AMONG THOSE PRESENT, THE GROUP REACHED THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

- A) NONE OF THE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SC IS PLEASED WITH THE FOUR DRAFTS (NOR WITH THE PROLIFERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR ONE DEBATE ITEM).
- B) FURTHER, WESTERN MEMBERS SHOULD CONTACT THE AFRICANS AND TELL THEM THAT THESE DRAFTS, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD NOT LEAD TO ANY FORWARD PROGRESS AND THAT ANOTHER WAY WAS REQUIRED.
- C) WE SHOULD INQUIRE OF THE AFRICANS AS TO WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AVOID ANY RESOLUTIONS EMERGING FROM A DEBATE ON APARTHEID, THE BEGINNING OF WHICH, AT LEAST, THOSE PRESENT AGREED WAS INEVITABLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 USUN N 00692 100230Z

- D) SHOULD THAT NOT PROVE POSSIBLE, WE WOULD SUGGEST A "SOLEMN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES", RELATED TO THE POINTS OUTLINED ABOVE IN "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 1".
- E) THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD MAKE A JOINT REPRESENTATION TO THE SAG IN PRETORIA CONCERNING SOUTHERN AFRICA.
- F) EFFORTS WOULD BE MADE TO HAVE THE SC CREATE A "CONTACT GROUP" OF FIVE OF THOSE "ABLE TO ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS", TO CONTACT SOUTH AFRICA CONCERNING NAMIBIA. FRENCH PERM REP ARGUED REASONABLY THAT SUCH A DESCRIPTION WOULD OF NECESSITY EXCLUDE SOVIETS AND CHINESE, WHO DID NOT HAVE SUCH CONTACTS, AND OTHERS WHO DID NOT HAVE REPRESENTATION IN PRETORIA--WHICH WOULD BE AN ADVANTAGE TO US--AND THAT THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A FORMULA WHICH COULD BE ACCEPTED BY OTHER SC MEMBERS, IT BEING UNDERSTOOD THAT IT IS THE WESTERN MEMBERS WHO HAVE LEVERAGE WITH THE SAG. ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS, FRG AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A GROUP.
- G) SHOULD NOTHING EMERGE FROM EFFORTS BY CONTACT GROUP, OTHER MEASURES WOULD BE CONSIDERED. FRG URGED THAT CONTACT GROUP TALK WITH PRETORIA BEFORE MAY.

6. IT WAS AGREED THAT GROUP MEMBERS WOULD SEEK GOVERNMENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ABOVE AND MEET AGAIN MARCH 16, PRIOR TO MEETING WITH AFRICANS TWO DAYS THEREAFTER.

YOUNG

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